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Of the remaining four chapters, the first one in the book rushes through a "Social and Economic Survey of New York at the Close of the Civil War" (15 pages), the concluding chapter gives a brief summary of the narrative, one long chapter does full justice to the ill-starred constitutional convention of 1867, and one chapter, the best in the book, is entitled the Alliance of Wall Street and the Legislature. It contains the ever-stirring story of the contest between Drew and Vanderbilt over the Erie railway.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Stebbins chose to make this his only free excursion into the fertile territory of Big Business in politics. At the beginning of his account of the national nominating conventions of 1868, he labels such topics as "the excise, political personalities, the Tweed ring, the canal frauds and the Erie scandal", as "matters of local interest".

Surely in a political history of the state of New York, these are the matters of fundamental importance, and national politics may be often slurred over.

Page 279 contains the positive assertion that "from 1865 to 1870 the New York legislature was the plaything of the 'Rings'". Very true, but except for the glimpse of the Erie war, this book reveals but little of that sport. Here was an opportunity for an adequate analysis of the personnel of the two Republican factions and especially of the crowd that followed that great little man, Fenton; for an investigation of the ramifications of the unsavory Canal Ring among the machines of both parties; for something more than a fragmentary portrayal of the well-defined factions in New York city and Brooklyn and in Erie and Albany counties. To the rapid and lively narrative with which Congressman Alexander speeded through this same period in the third volume of his *Political History of the State of New York* Dr. Stebbins has added much that is valuable in detailed statement and in amplified discussion.

The bibliographical note is well done and the index is complete. There is a misprint in the second line on page 287, and, on page 300, a second glance is necessary to recognize under the name, Lewis F. Payne, that redoubtable champion and representative of the ancient régime, Louis F. Payn.

The full tale of Fenton and Weed and Conkling on the one side, and Seymour, Richmond, and Tweed on the other is yet to be told within one pair of covers.

C. H. L.

*Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz.*

Selected and edited by FREDERIC BANCROFT, on behalf of the Carl Schurz Memorial Committee. In six volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. Pp. xviii, 522; vii, 534; xiv, 508; xix, 528; xii, 531; xi, 496.)

A MAN of "unshaken courage, who knew no such thing as compromise on a principle, who never lost faith in American self-government;

and particularly . . . one whose belief in liberty and democracy was as fresh and as ardent in his last years as in his youth", so Carl Schurz is described in the preface to these volumes. "The lesson of moral courage, of intelligent and conscientious patriotism, of independent political thought, of unselfish political affiliation, and of constant political vigilance"—so Grover Cleveland characterized Schurz's career on his death in 1906.

The publication by his friends of the speeches and letters of Carl Schurz, as a memorial, is quite as much a service to the American public as an honor to the dead statesman; for these six volumes present a vivid and adequate survey of the whole course of American politics of the period. No political speeches ever had so wide a circulation as those Schurz delivered on civil service reform, Blaine, the tariff, free silver, and anti-imperialism; they were published literally by the millions, with a profound effect on the various political campaigns. Schurz's discussion of a subject exhausted all the arguments on his side. He wielded, not a rapier, but the sharpest of battle-axes; and his arguments, aimed with the greatest precision, fell precisely where they were aimed. He indulged in no imagery and no humor; he presented his facts with the acme of force and clarity; as he himself said of Charles Sumner, his sentences were "like rows of massive Doric columns" (III. 67).

While both speeches and letters are of historical value, the greater interest of these volumes is their complete revelation of the man. Schurz's singled-minded devotion to principle and his political honesty, as well as his personal limitations, are more clearly shown in these letters than in his published *Reminiscences*. So full is the epistolary record of his later life that the reader will greatly regret the unfortunate destruction by fire in 1866 of most of his correspondence (including many letters from Lincoln), comprising his early years in this country.

His was an extraordinary career—born in Germany in 1829, a revolutionist in 1848, a refugee to the United States in 1852, a candidate for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin in 1857, United States Minister to Spain in 1861, brigadier general in 1862, United States senator in 1869, Secretary of the Interior in 1877; a confidant and adviser of every president from Lincoln to Roosevelt, a leader in every great political reform to the day of his death, at the age of seventy-seven.

The keynote of his whole life was "liberty"—individual liberty of thought and action, and especially national standards of liberty. How vividly he felt on this subject is expressed in a letter to J. G. Schurman, in 1902:

Recent events have touched me perhaps more keenly than they have touched others. Can you imagine the feelings of a man who all his life has struggled for human liberty and popular government, who for that reason had to flee from his native country, who believed he had found what he sought in this Republic . . . and who at last, at the close of his life, sees that beloved Republic in the clutches of sinister powers which seduce and betray it into an abandonment of its most sacred principles

and traditions and push it into policies and practices even worse than those which once he had to flee from? (VI. 290.)

It is interesting to note that his first opposition to slavery was, as he wrote in 1855 (I. 16), because of its effect, not upon the slave, but upon the country, from

the demoralising influence of the slave-power upon the politicians of the North; the consequent partisanship of all political ideas of justice and especially the influence upon our foreign policy. When you ask me, "When will the United States interfere practically in the interest of the freedom of the people of the world?" I answer without hesitation and with unquestioning conviction, "As soon as the slaveholders have ceased to be a political power."

Schurz's personal freedom of action in relation to party ties always subjected him to attack; but his views of party morality were formed early and never changed. Thus in a letter in 1859, he wrote:

Perhaps it would do the party good to learn that in order to be victorious it must first be consistent and true, and that without deserving success it will never have any . . . Expediency will always be for us a dangerous stumbling-block. We must command the esteem and confidence of the people in order to command their votes (I. 44).

And to John Wanamaker, he wrote in 1889:

I count myself one of those who think it vastly more important that the Government be well administered than that it be administered by this or that set of men; and who, while recognizing the usefulness of party as a means to a good end, support whatever appears to them of public benefit, and oppose whatever they consider bad, no matter what party label it may bear (V. 19).

Perhaps no better statement can be found of the views of the two schools of politicians—those who believe in reforming the party from within, and those who favor independent action outside of the party—than in the lively correspondence between Schurz and Henry Cabot Lodge in 1884, at the outset of the Blaine campaign (IV. 215).

His opponents sharply criticized Schurz as a turncoat, but they forgot that, if at times he felt obliged to leave his party, it was never for personal gain, but always to promote what he believed to be his country's welfare. He proved his sincerity more than once, by absolutely refusing high office from his new party associates. Those who really wish to know the unselfishness of the man should read the account of his refusal of an appointment as major general, in order that a friend might have it, and of the ignorance of his friend of the fact until informed by the editor of these volumes, after Schurz's death (I. 222).

Schurz's strong views on the reform of the civil service were formed early in life, and are foreshadowed in a strikingly described interview with Abraham Lincoln, in July, 1860:

I was with Lincoln yesterday. He is the same kindly old fellow, quite as unpretentious and ingenuous as ever. . . . He wears a linen

sack-coat and a hat of doubtful age, but his appearance is neat and cleanly. We talked in my room nearly two hours. I was lying on my bed resting, when he came, and he insisted on my remaining so. He talked of the Presidential election with as much placid, cheerful frankness as if he were discussing the potato crop. He told me of all the letters and visits with which he was flooded, and said he was not answering those asking for office and the like. "Men like you," he added, "Who have real merit and do the work, are always too proud to ask for anything; those who do nothing are always the most clamorous for office, and very often get it because it is the only way to get rid of them. But if I am elected, they will find a tough customer to deal with, and you may depend upon it I shall know how to distinguish deserving men from the drones."

"All right, old Abe!" thought I (I. 119).

Another remark of Lincoln's on the subject, in 1865, as reported by Sumner, is given by Schurz (IV. 436): "Behold this spectacle! We have conquered the rebellion, but here is a greater danger to the country than the rebellion [the office seekers]."

Schurz's active work for the reform began perhaps with his letter of March 29, 1869 (I. 481), and his speech in the Senate, January 27, 1871 (II. 122), which even at that early date contains practically all the arguments on which this great reform has been based and brought to near completion. When Secretary of the Interior, he enforced the merit system in his own department, long before the enactment of the civil service law; and he wrote to Garfield in 1880 (IV. 2): "I know from four years of executive experience, that honest government is impossible with the civil service as a party machine, and the public offices used as patronage and perquisite."

Nothing in Schurz's letters is more striking than his prescience as to many of the problems that later confronted the American people. As early as December, 1856 (I. 25), he predicted Buchanan's administration as the end of the Democratic party, and that the slavery question could not be decided "without powder"; his speech on the currency and national banks in 1874 is applicable to present-day conditions; his policy on Indian affairs became law many years later; he was one of the earliest advocates of forest conservation. As early as 1889, he wrote: "The use of money in elections . . . has really become a great evil—probably the greatest danger now threatening the vitality of our Republican institutions."

His gift of vision is shown in one of the most striking and eloquent passages in these letters in his characterization of Lincoln, written as early as 1864, to a boyhood friend in Germany:

He is a well-developed child of nature and is not skilled in polite phrases and poses. But he is a man of profound feeling, correct and firm principles, and incorruptible honesty. His motives are unquestionable, and he possesses to a remarkable degree the characteristic, God-given trait of this people, sound commonsense. . . . I have criticised

him often and severely, and later I found that he was right. I also know his failings; they are those of a good man. . . . He personifies the people, and that is the secret of his popularity. His Administration is the most representative that the history of the world has ever seen. I will make a prophecy that may now sound peculiar. In fifty years, perhaps much sooner, Lincoln's name will be inscribed close to Washington's on this American Republic's roll of honor. And there it will remain for all time (I. 250-251).

Besides Schurz's own correspondence, these volumes contain many letters of extraordinary interest written to him. A note from Greeley, November 10, 1872 (II. 443), after his defeat, has a pathetic touch:

*"Private forever.*

"My dear Sir: I wish I could say with what an agony of emotion I subscribe myself

Gratefully yours,

Horace Greeley."

The letters from Lincoln in 1860 and 1862, from Hayes in 1876 and 1877, from Bayard before and during Cleveland's first administration, and from Roosevelt in 1905, throw much light on political conditions.

Schurz, of course, had his limitations and these letters reveal them. Nothing helps a reformer more than a twinkle in the eye; none of Schurz's writings show a trace of a sense of humor. He was, moreover, intensely dogmatic, with the profoundest conviction of the absolute correctness of his own views. Nothing irritated his opponents more than this. Like many reformers, he was inclined to see his own particular reform out of focus, and to attack even his friends if they asserted the relatively greater importance of other matters.

Schurz has frequently been criticized for his own habit of criticism of his friends—yet this was but a part of the perfect honesty of the man and of the freedom of action which he expected in others as well as in himself. His attitude is well explained in a letter to Lincoln in 1862:

I do not know how many friends you have sincere enough to tell you things which it may not be pleasant to hear; I assure you, they are not the worst. In risking the amenities of undisturbed private relations they fulfil a duty, which many, who call themselves friends, have not the courage to understand and appreciate (I. 214).

So in writing to Hayes in 1877 he said:

I would rather speak of more agreeable things, but, as a friend, I deem it my duty to say to you what thousands of conscientious men think, although, possibly, they shrink from making their thoughts known to you (III. 361).

It must be admitted that some of his friends, notably President Cleveland (see the correspondence in volume IV.), sometimes felt that a less strong sense of duty in this respect might be more helpful to those who were struggling against odds of which Schurz was ignorant.

On the other hand he was as ready to praise an opponent for good acts as to assail him for bad; a striking example of which is to be had

in the pleasant letter to President Roosevelt in 1905, congratulating him on the Russo-Japanese peace treaty (VI. 431). And he never found fault for the mere sake of finding fault, but, as he wrote to Carnegie in 1902 (VI. 296): "I am dreadfully tired of faultfinding, and my heart longs for something great to praise. But if things remain in the present state—I shall again have to do the hard duty."

A letter from Thomas F. Bayard in 1886 (IV. 440) describing Cleveland is equally applicable to Schurz: "If I wanted to describe the position and objects of the President, I should say that he cares less to please *anybody* than to render true and permanent public service."

Perhaps his whole conception of life, and the best illustration of his own life may be summed up in the following words, written when he was only twenty-eight, to his old friend and teacher Kinkel (I. 24): "To have aims that lie outside ourselves and our immediate circle is a great thing, and well worth the sacrifice."

CHARLES WARREN.

*Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois.* Herausgegeben von JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. [Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrgang 1912, vol. XII.] (Chicago: Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois. 1913. Pp. 601.)

THE *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, begun in 1901 as a quarterly, has already contributed much of interest to our knowledge of the Germans in the United States, particularly in the West. The journal now becomes an annual publication, releasing the German-American Historical Society of Illinois from the responsibility of frequent publication, which might in course of time lead to the temptation of admitting material of inferior value. The *Jahrbuch* before us maintains a high standard, and should receive a warm welcome by all those interested in that fascinating racial composite, the American people. After the editor's preface the volume begins with an article by Vincent H. Todd, on Christoph von Graffenried and the Founding of New Bern, North Carolina. The author has had access to the little known French and German manuscripts of Graffenried,<sup>1</sup> and to the authoritative account of the life of Graffenried by W. F. von Mülinen.<sup>2</sup> The story is well told, interesting

<sup>1</sup> The reviewer has examined the originals of the Graffenried manuscripts in Switzerland, and carefully compared them side by side. His estimate of their comparative merits may be found in *German-American Annals*, November-December number, 1913. There also will be found the German Graffenried manuscript, printed for the first time, together with a group of ten letters of German settlers in Carolina in the year 1711.

<sup>2</sup> *Christoph von Graffenried, Landgraf von Carolina, Gründer von Neu-Bern, zumeist nach Familienpapieren und Copien seiner amtlichen Berichte*, von Wolfgang Friedrich von Mülinen, *Neujahrsblatt herausgegeben vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern für 1897* (Bern, 1896).